575 the support of politicians, warlords as well as capitalists. Even the Kuomintang leaders had to come to terms with the society in their campaign against the warlords, and the Japanese occupation forces during 1937-1945 utilized Ch'ing-pang organizations to rout Communist underground agents.[8]

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

647 596 178 Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite became contributing factors to the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

621 423 565 ●369 There was no change in the social composition of the rural population in the past several decades. As of old, the village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; and village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of which owned land; the village gentry, that is to say the local leaders were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[9]

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8. Ibid., pp. 64-65.

9. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

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However, the growth of rural population, without a comparable increase in arable land, together with more opportunities for employment in the cities caused the migration of some peasants to the urban centers. The continued high premium placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breakup of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied in the study of the Confucian Classics. This was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with the changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was

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369 designed for better citizenship.[10] Their curri-
178 cula opened a new and different world, far more
565 interesting and intelligible to the younger generation than the classics of old. If modern education had not always succeeded in giving new skills to the students, it at least had taught them not to be satisfied with their lot, but to look to the future rather than to the past for betterment. With the increase of schools, there emerged in the cities a considerable professional class and a large number of students cut off for years
369 from their original environment. Students and
178 intellectuals, seeking some common meeting
565 ground, banded together, and with their newly-
517 found organizations came a semblance of separate class consciousness. Although many students depended for their subsistence on their families they had nothing to do with the cultivation or management of land. Alienated from the land and anxious to find a new channel of social advancement, the intellectuals were confronted with the problems of social disorder. Furthermore, in contrast to the situation in Europe during a comparable cultural period, when the landed aristocracy contested with the merchants, industrialists, and bankers for positions

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10. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance, the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933, Chicago, University of Chicago Press 1934; Teng and Fairbank, op. cit.

in the ruling elite, political power and economic power in modern China continued to be in the hands of a single group. When social mobility was made difficult by the lack of a clear and recognized channel for upward social movement, social roles were less clearly defined; the sons of high government officials became industrialists, bankers' sons became diplomats, and all owned land. Intermarriages between the new and the old upper-class elements were taken for granted. Modern intellectuals, mostly from middle-class families, were unable to obtain position and status in the new business or political hierarchy and yet were unwilling to return to their home villages. They had been too long removed from their original environment to feel anything but estranged from it.

Influenced by the idea of democracy which they had discovered in school, the intellectuals began to solicit support from the masses, a move which traditional scholars would not have considered. Robert North's study of the revolutionary Kuomintang and Communist leaders shows that the majority came from the middle-class, landowning, and merchant families, and attended modern schools.[11] The labor unions, the peasant associations, the rural reconstruction experiments, and the Communist Party became the milieu in which the intellectual began their new careers.

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11. Robert North, Kuomintang and the Chinese Communist Elites, Stanford University Press, 1952, pp. 116-121.

and the Marriage Law implemented.[14] Various comments on the Marriage Law inspired by the regime stress Lenin's dictum that sex relationships and family problems are not individual or small affairs but matters of great social, economic, and political significance.[15]

B. Implementation of the Marriage Law

As the Nationalist Government had made no attempt to put into effect the marriage and family provisions of its 1930-31 codes among the rural population, the spirit and provisions of the Marriage Law were new and alien to this great majority of the Chinese people. They were still bound to the traditional family and had not encountered the economic experience and education which had pushed the family in Western-influenced cities toward new types of social organization from the beginning of the 20th century. Moreover, the new law offered no immediate or apparent economic benefits as had the Land Reform Law.

The result was apathy, when not open resistance, toward the reorientation of marriage and family practices among the farming population. These attitudes were as typical of most of the village cadres as of the rural people

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14. Ibid., 106, p. 15.

15. See, for instance, C.B., 275, p. 4; and SCMP, 1048, pp. 30-31.

The county seats
634 (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax col-
458 lection and administration of the surrounding farm-villages and also served as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average partisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays were the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat and fruit on
527 holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat Festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending season fairs and theaters.

● 369 Life in the towns was, then, closely linked with village. But in the larger cities such as Peking, Tientsin, Taiyuan, and Ta-t'ung, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the coastal to the inland cities. The streets are paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and

villages. In Tientsin and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers: labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for social activity. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers moved into the cities. Crowding reached unbelievable proportions. The only comparable figures are for Chengtu, a city outside the North China area, but they suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominantly one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square miles as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New York City.[11] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[12] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual aid. Secret societies provided

11. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for period 1945-47.

12. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

576 another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. Urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

II. THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM

24 654 668 In discussing Communist efforts to alter the Chinese way of life, it should be stressed that our material is unsatisfactory. Statistics, declarations, news releases give few realistic details of life in the villages under Communist domination, and most refugees from Communist China have come from the cities.

First of all, the farmer's annual routine is basically unchanged. Pilot collectives are in operation, but these are few and have no immediate bearing on the farmer's work year. The most striking change in the farmer's life is the new network of associations which the government has imposed upon him and the daily barrage of advice and exhortation to which he is subjected.

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The proportion of sons was almost exactly twice that of daughters. This difference would be expected as the married daughters would not be listed as members of the family. Daughters-in-law did not quite make up the difference between sons and daughters.

There were 21 adopted sons in the 5,255 families and four in the 515 families, so the proportion of families adopting was well under one per cent. One family in the 515 family group had a son-in-law living with them. He probably was taking the place of a son in carrying on the family line.

One married daughter was listed in the 5,255 families and two future daughters-in-law. The custom of rearing a son's fiancee evidently was not general in Ting Hsien, but many of the boys were so young when they were married that their wives might well be listed as their fiancees. In the 5,255 families 100 boys, who were still under 14 years of age, were reported as married. This was 6 per cent of the boys from nine to 18 years of age. Nineteen per cent of the 18 year old boys were married. In a group of 1,843 married men living in three market towns, 14.8 per cent were married before they were 14 years old. In the 515 families, 25 per cent of 766 married men were under 14 when they were married.

A Chinese family with five generations living together under the same roof is said to be particularly blessed. We have been told that in the older days such an occurrence was given special notice by the Emperor. In the 515 families there was one family with five generations and 42 families, 8.2 per cent, with four generations. The two and three generation families were 49.0 and 40.2 per cent of the group. Thirteen families, 2.5 per cent, had only one generation. There were several families in the 5,255 group that may have had five generations, but this item was not taken from the records.

Sex Distribution

Fifty-one and one-half per cent of the members of the 5,255 families and 51.4 per cent of the 515 families were males. If those who were away from home, but were still counted as members of the family, are omitted, the figure for the 5,255 families was 51.2 per cent male. There had not been enough movement to the cities to make any large change in the sex division of these rural families.

In the larger Chinese cities the population was from 57 to 63.5 per cent male. Many men leave their families behind them when they go

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to work in the city. Long hours, the difficulties of local transportation, the cost of living in the city, and the fact that many men regularly lived where they worked, often made it better for a man to go to the city alone. Furthermore his parents would expect their daugher-in-law to stay at home and look after them.

The masculinity rates (number of males per 100 females) for four of our groups of families ranged from 105.5 to 108. These figures were only slightly higher than the 105 of the rural non-farm population in the United States. The index of our home industry families was 112, only slightly more than the 111 of the U.S. rural farm population.[5] The U.S. figures for 1930 are used as they correspond with the time of our study.

Age Distribution

The ages given in this study are figured according to the Western rather than the Chinese method of calculating age. According to the Chinese system a child is one year old when born and two years old on the next Chinese New Year. When the study of the 5,255 families was made each person's Chinese age and birthday were recorded. They were also asked the name of the "animal" in the Chinese year cycle to which they belonged. From this the Western age was easily figured. The Western ages for the other groups have been determined by reducing the Chinese age by one year.

The age distribution by five year age groups of the members of the two groups of Chinese families and of the rural farm and rural non-farm population in the United States are shown in Figure 5. The graphs for the two Chinese groups are similar except that the 515 families have a slightly larger proportion under 25 years of age, 53.5 per cent, as compared with 50 per cent for the 5,255 families. The difference is especially large in the under five group. The 515 families reported 15.2 per cent of their members under five: the 5,255 families, 12.4 per cent. We have not been able to discover any reason for the large proportion of young children in the 515 families except the fact that there were no single-person families in that group and a much smaller proportion of the families had from two to five members, 41 per cent as compared with 51.3 per cent of the 5,255 families.

5. U.S. Census.

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Ages of Husband and Wife

The age figures of the 766 couples in the 515 families showed that in 69.6 per cent of the couples the wife was older than her husband. In 24.6 per cent the husband was the older. In only 44 couples were the husband and wife the same age. Where the wife was the older, the difference in age ranged from one to 11 years with the largest number two and three years older. In four out of five of those couples the difference was not more than five years. The average difference was 3.8 years.

Where the husband was older the difference in age ranged from one to 28 years. In 31 per cent of these couples the difference was 10 or more years. The average difference was eight years.

For the entire group the wives were, on the average, eight months older than their husbands. The greater number of older wives offset the greater age difference when the husband was the older.

A study of 1,540 couples in three market towns does not tell quite the same story. In that group the division was 48 per cent of the wives older than their husbands and 46.3 per cent of the husbands older than their wives. The average differences in age were almost the same, 7.9 years where the husband was older and 3.9 years where the wife was older. Because of the more even division, the average difference in age for the entire group was the husband 1.8 years older.

A difference in the economic condition of the 515 farm families and the 1,540 market-town families may account for some of the differences in the figures for the two groups. In the families with 100 or more mu the wife, on the average, was 3.6 years older than her husband. In the 50 to 99 mu group, the difference was only a little over one year. In the under 50 mu group the husbands were, on the average, seven months older than their wives. The more well-to-do groups evidently arranged marriage for their sons when they were very young, but they did not ordinarily pick out a very young girl as a daughter-in-law. She would not be physically able to carry the burden of serving her parents-in-law or of child bearing.

In the 515 families there were 97 couples in which one of the partners had been married more than once. Even in this group there were 20 wives who were older than their husbands. The average difference in age was three years. In the 68 couples where the husband was older the average difference in age was 12 years.

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started to go down in Ting Hsien. It dropped 12 per cent in the next 35 months.

From the low point in 1905 to the peak in 1929 the exchange rate increased 469 per cent. From 1857 to 1929 the increase was 295 per cent. In 75 years, 1857–1931, the rate went up 275 per cent.

A comparison of the Ting Hsien and Peking exchange rates showed that from 1862 until 1877 the Ting Hsien rate was the higher. Peking did not have the 1876–1882 dip and rise. From 1882 to 1900 the two rates followed similar declining trends. The Peking rate reached its lowest point in 1900, Boxer year, five years before Ting Hsien. From 1900 to 1915 the Peking rate was higher. From 1918 to 1931 the Ting Hsien rate was regularly higher but both rates had practically the same rapid increase. In 1930 they were only 20 cash (two coppers) apart, 4,080 and 4,100. From 1915 through 1930 Ting Hsien's yearly rate ranged from 97 to 106 per cent of the Peking rate. Except for 1928 and 1929 the variation was not over 3.5 per cent, a very close agreement.

How the extra demand for money at Chinese New Year's time affected the exchange rate is shown in Figure 20. It gives the rates for the Ting-hsien market days of the 11th and 12th months of 1930 and the 1st month of 1931. The rate dropped 23 per cent from the first of the 11th month to the end of the 12th month, but by the eleventh of the 1st month it was back to the original rate, 410 coppers per dollar.

As the city markets were set according to the lunar calendar the exchange shops usually operated on the same basis. In 1930 they attempted to follow the solar calendar but it did not work out well and they went back to the lunar calendar in 1931.

Credit

Credit was provided in Ting Hsien by pawn shops, mutual savings societies, cooperative credit societies, and private lenders. There were no banks in the hsien at the time of our study. The pawn shops were found only in the towns. Mutual savings societies were, as their name implies, for regular savings over a long period of time rather than for short term loans. Cooperative credit societies could be organized under the Chinese law and some were very successful in providing credit at low rates of interest, but they were a new type of organization still largely in the promotion stage and so were not a large factor in the

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CHAPTER XIV

Buying and Selling

BUYING AND SELLING was carried on in Ting Hsien by 2,228 stores in the city and villages, by thousands of itinerant peddlers, in 83 periodic markets, usually held six days per month, and at 50 temple fairs, held once a year.

The main trading center of the hsien was naturally the city and its three suburbs. Its market was held 12 days a month instead of the usual six days of the village markets. It had eight temple fairs during the year.

A survey in 1930 of the stores in the city and its suburbs found 90 different kinds and a total of 654. Of these 467 were inside the city walls and 187 in the suburbs. Food shops totaled 104, restaurants and tea shops 81, and inns 32. Eighty-six stores carried stock that could be described only as miscellaneous. The complete list is given in Table 86. The 654 stores employed 2,761 workers, including 34 women, an average of 4.2 employees per store. About two-thirds of the men were natives of Ting Hsien.

The 1,985 workers employed by the 467 stores inside the walls included 292 apprentices, one apprentice to 5.8 other workers. Seventy-one per cent of the workers had had some formal education, but 561 were reported to have had none.

Some 60 per cent of the city stores had been open less than 10 years but there were 12 that claimed a history of more than 100 years. These included eye medicine stores, eye medicine makers, old style drug stores, tobacco, salt, and cloth shops. One family had been making eye medicine for more than seven generations.

Only 85 stores, 18.2 per cent, owned their buildings. Fifty-one per cent of the stores had no more than five chien of space. Only 19 had more than 20 chien. The largest store, which occupied several court yards, had 78 chien.

In the suburbs 21 per cent of the stores owned their premises. Three stores, two drug stores, and one warehouse were more than 100 years old.

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There were 1,574 stores in the 453 villages. Thirty-four per cent of the villages had no stores and another 22 per cent had only one store. Only 25 villages had more than 10 stores and only four had more than 50 stores. The largest number was 160. If, as seems probable, the 10 highest numbers represented the 10 market towns, the number of stores in the towns ranged from 24 to 160.

In Tung T'ing, a market town of 362 families to the east of the city, there were 19 different kinds of stores. The total number was 51. Again the food shops, restaurants, and inns made up about one-third of the total number. The full list is given in Table 89.

Eighty-six per cent of the Tung T'ing stores owned their premises, more than four and a half times the city rate. Thirty-seven per cent of the stores had less than five chien, the largest 27 chien. Half the stores were less than five years old. The oldest was about 50 years old.

The capital of more than one-half of the shops was less than $300. Eleven had $1,000 or more. One, a money shop, had $20,000.

The profits of most of the stores were estimated to be below $300 a year. For 10 shops the amount was evidently over $1,000 per year but the exact amounts could not be determined.

The stores employed 146 men. Twelve of these were apprentices. This was one apprentice to 11 workers, almost one-half the rate in the city stores. The smaller size of the Tung T'ing stores—many were one man shops and the largest had only eight men—and the fact that, in many cases, the village stores were open only on market days would easily account for the smaller proportion of apprentices.

The origin of the workers was Tung T'ing 31 per cent, other villages in Ting Hsien 49 per cent, outside Ting Hsien 20 per cent. Thirteen came from Shansi. In the city about one-third of the workers came from other hsien. Seventy-one per cent of the employees were married.

Wages in the stores varied somewhat but the following figures give the general level: bookkeepers $50 per year; errand and counter boys $40; workers $30 to $40 per year plus meals. Presents and bonuses added some $30 for the bookkeepers, $20 for the counter boys, and $10 for the workers and apprentices.

Food for Tung T'ing workers cost about $4.00 a month, 50 cents less than in the city, where the workers regularly had wheat flour for at least one of their two meals.

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438 thirds of the male workers and 99.5 per cent of the female workers were engaged in home industry. The widespread hand spinning and weaving of the locally grown cotton accounted for the very large proportion of female workers. Over 60,000 were spinning, weaving, or both. Another 6,000 were engaged in other kinds of work. Eighty-eight per cent of the home industry workers were engaged in spinning, weaving, or both. About one-third of all females in the villages and some 8 per cent of the males were engaged in some form of home industry.

438 Because some families and workers were engaged in more than one
472 industry there was unavoidable duplication in the home industry figures for both families and workers. In determining the above figures
128 we have made allowance, on the basis of the actual duplication in 1,220 home industry families (see Chapter IV), for the known but necessarily estimated duplication in our hsien totals. In the 1,220 families the duplication was 27.5 per cent for the families, 10.5 per cent for the female workers, but only 1.1 per cent for the male workers. Spinning and weaving covered all but 2 per cent of the workers' duplications. In our industry tables we have not attempted any adjustment in the totals as the duplication can only be estimated. It must, however, always be kept in mind when the family and worker totals are considered.

In some cases it was difficult to make a sharp distinction between home and shop industry. The payment or non-payment of wages to the workers has been the chief determining factor. Home industry generally did not involve paid workers though they might be hired occasionally during especially busy times. Home industry generally was carried on in winter or other leisure time, but might be year round. Shop industry was generally year round, but might be seasonal. Apprentices were employed in some of the shops. Cotton ginning, which in some instances was done in the homes, has been listed as a shop industry as most of the workers were paid on a piece rate basis. Weaving was classified as a home industry although a few weavers were paid according to their output.

435 The value of the industrial output in 1931 was estimated to be
472 some $8,570,000. Fifty-seven per cent of this amount was produced
[288] by home industry. Cotton products were 56 per cent of the total. The
369 village shops produced more than four times as much as the city shops but the city output per shop was almost twice that of the villages. The
438 average annual output per worker was city shops $890, village shops

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$400, and home industry workers $54. For the thread spinners production averaged only $13.80 per person per year.

The estimated profit of the shops totaled some $500,000. The gain from home industry was approximately $880,000. The profit per worker was city shops $260, village shops $36. The average gain for the home industry workers was only $10.70. For the thread spinners it was only $2.90. Without them the average was $15.45. The shop profit is figured after the payment of the workers' wages and other expenses, the home industry gain after the payment for raw materials, but before any wage allowance.

Table 92 shows the number of shops and workers and how the industrial work was divided between city and village shops and home industry. Because our production figures are based on estimates the tables give them only to the nearest $10.

Our industry figures are based on five studies:

(1) A survey of the primary and secondary occupations, farming, industrial, and professional, of all persons over 12 years of age in 515 families in the Experimental District. The results of this study are given in Chapter II.

(2) A detailed study of the 204 shops in the city and its three suburbs.

(3) A general study of home and shop industry in the 453 villages and towns.

(4) A house to house survey of the industrial activity of the 2,260 families living in six villages and a detailed study of 1,220 of the 1,740 families reporting some home industry. The findings of this study are reported in Chapter IV.

(5) A historical study of wages, prices, and other factors of cotton ginning and cloth weaving for various parts of the 52 years from 1882 through 1935.

The industrial information for the 515 families was secured as part of our detailed study of those families. The information on the shops in the city and the villages was secured, for the most part, by talking with the masters and workers of the shops. When definite information was unavailable, we endeavored to approximate it with help from neighboring shops or to make our own estimate. When there were only a few families in a particular type of home industry, we secured our figures from them. When large numbers of families were involved, as in spin-

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285 manual skill. The reeds, most of which came from outside Ting Hsien, were prepared for weaving by splitting, removing the bark, soaking in water, and pressing under a mill stone until flat. In winter time the weaving was done in a cellar in order to keep the reeds moist and soft. In the summer it was often done out under the trees. It was a moderately prosperous industry, for the estimated gain was $58 per worker per year. About 10 per cent of the families made it their year round occupation. For the others it was part time work, for they, like so many of the home industry families, were busy with farm work during the growing season.

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TABLE 92. INDUSTRIAL SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT, PROFIT OR GAIN

		Workers		Output		Profit or Gain	
	Number	Total	Average	Total	Per Shop	Amount	% of Output
City shops	204	824	4.0	$ 730,910	$3,580	$ 216,150[3]	29.6
Village shops	1,578	7,506	4.8	2,975,480	1,880	285,290[3]	9.1
Home industry families	47,400[1]	90,429[2]	1.9	4,865,500	105	878,340[4]	18.0
	49,182[1]	98,759[2]		$8,571,890		$1,379,780	16.1

[1] Includes some duplication because of multiple industries and families and workers engaged in more than one industry.

[2] Males 25,077, females 73,682.

[3] After paying workers' wages.

[4] No wages paid workers.

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TABLE 93. TYPES OF INDUSTRY: SHOPS, FAMILIES, WORKERS, OUTPUT

	Number	Workers	Output	Output Per Worker	Per Cent of Total
Cotton Ginning, Spinning, and Weaving					
City shops	25	72	$ 76,380	$1,060	
Village shops	516	1,244	1,811,840	1,440	
Village families	42,518	80,212	2,948,960	40	
Total or average	42,857	81,528	4,837,180	60	56.4
Weaving Hair, Reeds, Straw, Twigs, and Wool					
City shops	1	7	2,590	370	
Village shops	-	-	-	-	
Village families	2,608	4,580	484,640	110	
Total or average	2,609	4,587	487,230	110	5.7
Food					
City shops	74	259	203,760	780	
Village shops	361	998	401,440	400	
Village families	1,353	3,441	425,420	120	
Total or average	1,788	4,698	1,030,620	220	12.0
Wood and Bamboo					
City shops	21	74	28,760	390	
Village shops	713	3,547	371,440	100	
Village families	336	642	77,900	120	
Total or average	1,070	4,263	478,100	110	5.6
Metal					
City shops	20	46	11,700	250	
Village shops	56	322	126,880	390	
Village families	26	51	26,770	520	
Total or average	102	419	165,350	400	1.9
Chemical					
City shops	40	245	341,110	1,390	
Village shops	116	1,334	239,200	180	
Village families	173	594	58,810	100	
Total or average	329	2,173	639,120	290	7.5
Miscellaneous					
City shops	25	121	66,610	550	
Village shops	16	51	24,680	500	
Village families	386	909	843,000	930	
Total or average	427	1,081	934,290	860	10.9

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536 533 singing for his own pleasure and to scare away any wandering spirits that might be about.

The reports spoke especially of the large numbers of women and girls who attended the yang ke plays. They were one of the big recreational events of the year and all the community made the most of them.

545 369 533 Theatrical performances were also given by troupes of professional actors engaged by some villages and by city organizations, such as the Lantern Association of the West Street, to give plays at New Year's time, for the temple fairs, and for other special occasions. The engagements were usually for a three or four day series of plays. The cost of this entertainment was about $130. The details of the expenditure are given in our report on the Temple Fairs in Chapter XVIII. The expenses of the plays given in the villages were usually paid by all the people in the village, generally by special graduated subscriptions rather than from general village funds. In some instances the amount of a family's subscription was determined by the amount of land the family held. In others the amount asked of each family was arbitrarily fixed, but it usually had some relation to the family's economic status. The subscription was practically obligatory, but we were told of some instances where families had refused to contribute. The collector threatened them with bodily harm if any member of the family went to the plays. In the city the cost was met by the members of the organization promoting the plays.

The spectators were not limited to the inhabitants of the village giving the plays, but came from the surrounding villages as well. It was an occasion for much local visiting and entertaining.

536 776 782 Worship of the gods was closely connected with most if not all of the plays given in 1929. A possible exception was those given for the Tung T'ing fairs, as it was reported that those fairs had no temple connection. If the stage was not set up in or near a temple courtyard where there was an altar, a shrine usually was built opposite the stage so that the gods might be worshiped and know that the plays were given as an offering to them. The people attending the plays combined worship and recreation. Theatrical plays were often given, as a special offering, when the community was seeking help from the gods, asking for rain, or wanting protection from locusts or other pests and disasters. The plays given at the temple fairs were naturally related to the temple worship.

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346 771 Hsien, Sung Tzu, Niang Niang, Ts'ai Shen, Erh Lang, Sun Hou Tzu the monkey god, Wen Shen, Hsüan T'an the god of riches, Shih Ch'ien, and Hu Hsien the fox spirit.

776 178 The decree marked for suppression a large part of the Ting Hsien temples, but, up to 1935, there seems to have been no serious effort to enforce it in North China. It seemed then that, lacking governmental pressure, the number of temples would probably diminish very gradually, that as the less popular temples fell into disrepair they would be given up, but that the belief in the more popular deities was so widespread and so deeply imbedded in the life of the people that it would continue for a long time. What influence the war with Japan and the Japanese occupation had on the religious life of Ting Hsien is unknown.

Freedom of religion is part of the constitution of the new Central People's Government, but it is reported that when the Communists were in control of parts of Kiangsi province they destroyed all the temples and shrines in the area. How many temples will survive in Ting Hsien?

Temple Fairs

776 543 Fairs held to honor the gods and to present them with incense, feasts, and entertainment combined religious worship, amusement, recreation, business, and sociability. They were the largest public activities associated with any of the temples. Thousands of people came from neighboring villages and even farther afield and there was great activity during the three, four, or more days of the fair. Free theatrical performances were regularly part of the program and were very popular.

Many of the fairs have a long history but we also found that new ones were being organized at the time of our study.

While the fairs usually were held to honor one of the more popular gods and worship was regularly part of the program, in at least one town there were two annual fairs that had no religious connection.

543 369 Not every temple or every village or even every market village had a fair. The city, two of its three suburbs, and 35 of the 453 towns and villages held fairs. How they were distributed throughout the hsien is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The map also shows the month when the fairs were held. Fifty was the total number reported. Six fairs were listed in the city, four in one town, three in another, and two in

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

another. Only one village had two fairs and they were both in the same month.

The third lunar month with 14 fairs and the second month with 12 were the most popular times for fairs. Sixty-two per cent were held in the first quarter of the year but only 4 per cent in the last quarter. There were no fairs in the 11th and 12th months. The sixth, seventh, and eighth month had only one fair each.

A fair was usually an all village activity with various committees taking charge of the necessary arrangements for the worship, for the theatricals, for the erection of the stage for the players and the mat shed for the spectators, for the selling booths, for the grouping of the various kinds of products offered for sale, for the collection of the necessary funds. For some fairs the money was collected from everyone in the village on the basis of their estimated wealth or the amount of land they owned. In others the money was collected from the shops and stores in the village and from the merchants coming for the fair. In still others an attempt was made to collect the cost of the fair from the visiting merchants and those who set up temporary booths. Only if these contributions left a deficit were the residents of the village asked to subscribe. If there was any surplus in the fair account it usually was added to the general fund of the village.

In most villages the fair was run by the group in charge of the village government, but in some it was in the hands of an entirely different group.

The cost of a fair lasting four days ordinarily varied from $100 to $150. The theatricals given for the entertainment of the gods and the visitors, except one or two caretakers who had to be left in each $114, the main items were:

Theatrical troupe	$60.00	Light and fuel	$6.50
Tip for head of troupe	4.00	Entertainment of soldiers	8.00
Mat shed	17.00	Tax for entertainment	4.00
Stage	10.00	Miscellaneous	4.50

The Pei Ch'i fair was given to honor Han Tsu (see pages 420–21). His worship was the high point of the fair. On the evening of the 20th of the 3rd month practically the entire village of 326 families and their many visitors, except for one or two caretakers who had to be left in each house, went to the temple. Many devout worshippers kotowed every

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

four-horse wagon to bring the dragon king back. After his return the water came back to the spring.

At flood times the rivers have a tendency to break out of the old silted channels. In 1794 the T'ang broke through the dykes to the south and ran past the city wall into the Meng Liang. In the flood of 1801 it took a new channel to the north of its old bed, so that villages that had been on the north bank were then on the south bank. The damage caused by that flood was so extensive and so well remembered that a monument was erected in Tung Pan Ts'un stating:

> In the sixth year of Chia Ch'ing the T'ang took a new bed. The crops were damaged and destroyed so that the people had no clothes and no food. Houses fell down. The people complained. The site of a large village became the bed of the river. The people wanted to escape. The village had about 200 families. About 100 families left. Now [1853] only 20 to 30 families remain.

The T'ang would probably have changed its course after the floods of 1917 and 1924, except that the breaks in the dykes were repaired and the river forced back into its old bed.

In 1810 the people of T'ang Hsien blocked the watercourse and cut off the flow of the T'ang to Ting Hsien. They were sued by the residents of Ting Hsien, but the case was not decided until 1826. Then the decision was in favor of Ting Hsien.

Through the years, the T'ang and Sha have had their part in China's history. Being two of the larger streams crossing the western part of the coastal plain, they have been advantageously placed for defense and have been the scene of numerous battles. The chief of these from the 6th to the 17th century are listed in the historical resumé in Chapter XIX.

The inhabitants of Ting Hsien lived in the walled city and its three suburbs, east, south, and west, 10 market towns, and 443 villages. The towns generally, but not always, had more families than the villages, did more business than the villages, had more stores, and had a larger proportion of non-farm families. All of the towns had markets, but so did 72 of the villages. As the differences between the towns and villages were largely those of degree we have grouped them together in our studies and counted them as 453 politically organized residence and farming areas. How they were distributed in the hsien is shown by the map on page 5.

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361 369 Each of the villages and towns included a residence area, in which all the families lived and which was regularly surrounded by some sort of protective wall, and the fields adjacent to and surrounding the residence area. Definite boundaries were fixed between the fields of the different villages. The provincial regulations of 1928 required that they be marked by boundary stones. Boundary lines were drawn because each village assessed the land it controlled to provide funds, when needed, for village expenses for schools, home guard, and crop watching.

134 361 423 The amount of arable land controlled by the villages varied from 245 to 32,500 mu. Nineteen per cent had less than 1,000 mu. Some 73 per cent had less than one square mile of farm land. Only 10 per cent had as much as 6,000 mu, 1,000 acres. The average was 3,065 mu. The total farm area of the villages and the city was 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total area of the hsien.

Although the village boundaries were set and regularly maintained, it apparently was possible for land on the periphery to be transferred to an adjoining village if it was sold to a resident of that village. It was also evident that new villages could be formed and secure control of the surrounding land. The number of villages had been growing during the previous eighty years, for the hsien history of 1849 gave the number as 423 or 30 less than at the time of our study.

We also found 19 residence areas that were not recognized as separate villages but might well be later on. They evidently had been set up because of crowding in the original residence areas, but did not control the surrounding farm lands and did not have separate governments so were still satellite villages.

103 Seventy-one, 58 per cent, of the 123 villages in the 1st and Experimental Districts (10 villages were in both districts) were given a family surname. Six were named for the Wang family. Some nine different terms were used for village, walled village, castle, residence, camp, hamlet. The most usual one, used 26 times, was ——— chia chuang, village of the house of ———. There were 13 pairs of villages, north-south, east-west, big-little. Fifteen villages were named for physical features, a neighboring river, a bridge, a dyke, a gate, low ground, specially good soil, or white earth. One group of five villages were different goat yards. There was the village of the eight brothers, four families, ten families, eight cornered man, horse's head, old crow, head light, cow village, and

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice. **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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one of the duck-raising families has a brother in the village who is a good farmer. Members of the families of these two brothers seldom see each other in spite of their kinship tie.

The woolen factory in the market-town attracts several female- as well as male-workers from this village. Several sons of P'ing-chiao-tsun families have also been attracted to the city factories. But so far the effect of industrialization upon family life is not observable. Perhaps the time is still too short for these families to feel the effect. Also recently, a Mr. Y- has brought into the village a few machines for woolen manufacture. Workers, males and females, adults and children, are attracted from P'ing-chiao-tsun itself and other villages. Industrialization is surely taking place, and another couple of years will tell its effects.

As to consumption habits, the village folks have begun to smoke cigarettes from city factories. The cloth for clothing is no longer home-spun but comes from city factories as well. The tea-leaves and the household utensils come from places far away. P'ing-chiao-tsun has no electric light and its people cannot afford to visit movie houses. Members of the upper family are exceptions, but their habits and manners have no effect on the rest.

Naturally, the school and the political bodies, previously mentioned, are agents of urbanization. Our student- and faculty-investigators are also urban agents. While we do not look queer to the villagers, nevertheless they are interested in our habits of living and very often keep on asking for details about them.

The last but not the least important is the changing conception of time in the minds of the villagers. While time-clocks may still be regarded as decorations, the people have begun to use them to count their time in hours if not in minutes. The three counts of morning, afternoon and evening are getting too simple for them.

Meanwhile, the city of Peiping is changing toward an industrial urbanism. Thus the process of urbanization in P'ing-chiao-tsun is both old and new. While the residents of the city might have abandoned their old ways, the village folks may still keep them. But the new ways are surely coming, slow as they may be. The structure of this village may be different from that of an American rural community,[29]

29 Charles J. Galpin, Rural Life, New York, 1923; J. H. Kolb and Edmund de S. Brunner, A Study of Rural Society: Its Organization and Changes, Boston and New York, 1940.

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but it too feels the pressure of urban ways as the latter has felt and still feels it. Metropolitan ways of living[30] are in the making. The people of P'ing-chiao-tsun will some day feel the need of changing their ways.

Individuation

The relation of the individual to the family and to many other associations constantly occurs in the minds of the village folks. While he is born to a family, an individual gradually realizes that some day he will be free from the control or his parents and elders. With other associations, he feels that his participation may be at least partially voluntary. Whatever the case may be, in the solution of their daily problems, he finds the principle of cooperation most valuable, yet in his participation in group life, he discovers the problem of individuation, or his emancipation from the control of a group or groups. Thus the relation of individual to society presents itself as a problem to the P'ing-chiao-tsun folks as it has been presented to the eminent philosophers in all ages in all human communities. While individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village, as a problem it is growing more acute under the pressure of urbanization. In the present section, only a few general observations are made.

No two individuals in P'ing-chiao-tsun are exactly alike. While the sociologists may claim that personality is the subjective aspect of culture,[31] not a single individual has acquired the whole of the culture of P'ing-chiao-tsun.

On the surface of it, all P'ing-chiao-tsun folks look similar. Surely, they are similar in many many ways, but each of them has his own idiosyncrasies. They differ from one another in age, sex, physique, intelligence, temperament, education, family life, associations, and a hundred other ways. All these factors working in combination have undoubtedly given each of them an individuality.

They all may have the same ideals, yet they all differ. In P'ing-chiao-tsun, the rule is that the husband should dominate the wife, and yet as in the country at large, there are henpecked husbands. While

30 R. D. McKenzie, **The Metropolitan Community**, New York, 1933; also The University of Chicago sociological series.

31 Ellsworth Faris, **The Nature of Human Nature and Other Essays in Social Psychology**, New York, 1937, Part I, Article II, pp. 21-35.

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problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or cresive, contractual or customary.

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation.

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning.

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal.

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self-

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369 sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

121 There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

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 The workers 111
of these two factories, as shown by their nativity
and previous occupations, were largely recruited from the farmer 369
class of Chihli and Shantung. This movement from country to town is rather significant. It appears to be a natural phenomenon in the industrialization of China. As political and economic conditions of the country improve, industry will surely develop, and the migration of working population from agricultural to industrial field together with the rise of industrial towns will undoutedly be still greater with the consequence that social conditions of this country will be greatly changed.

Both factories have adopted the eight-hour day since March, 466
1927. Workers, with a few exceptions, have been arranged into shifts and changes of shifts are effected every Sunday. This system, popular as it is in western factories, is not generally practiced in this country. Factory employers, governmental officials and even managers of foreign factories hesitate to adopt this system on the ground that Chinese labourers are not so efficient as foreigners. Chiu Ta and Pacific, although not the first to make this venture, however, supply a good illustration that the system can work well in China as well as in western countries. It has been proved that the eight-hour day not only gives spare time to the workers for recreation and intellectual pursuits, but also increases their efficiency to some extent. We hope that the experience of these two factories will convince employers in China, both foreign and Chinese, of the benefit of adopting the eight-hour day.

With regard to rest and holiday, Pacific Works gives in fact none, while the Chiu Ta Factory gives only 8½ days in the whole year. It is the opinion of the factory authorities that a rest day is unnecessary unless the worker knows how to utilize it, so they are liberal in granting leave of absence instead of giving the usual Sunday rest. Any worker may ask leave of absence for accident, sickness, marriage, or funeral service with pay, or for ordinary business without pay. The time for absence is either determined by the factory physician in case of accident or sickness, or limited to a certain number of days in other cases.

The welfare work of these factories also needs special